Cleaning Up the Streets: Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Night-Time Neighbourhood Services Team

The streets of Britain's city centres are busy at night: taxi drivers, 'revellers', fast food sellers, bouncers, policemen, street pastors, leafleteers and more take to the streets to promote, produce or consume the night-time economy. 'Night-time economy studies' has catalogued this vast range of activities associated with consumption in city centres at night, particularly within a British context. Roberts and Eldridge's comprehensive overview of research across social science on the night-time economy provides examples of research into many of these groups, and more. In revealing such a wide and mature academic field, however, research relating to infrastructural maintenance at night is conspicuous in its absence, despite an awareness of the importance of the night as a time for maintenance (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009:26). Separately from this research into the night-time economy, a growing literature has begun to emphasise the need for social scientists to look at repair and maintenance of cities (Graham and Marvin, 2001, Herod and Aguiar, 2006, Graham and Thrift, 2007). In urban geography, as this edited collection shows, this increase in attention paid to repair and maintenance has begun to reveal that, far from a 'back stage' of the city (Goffman, 1959), infrastructure takes on a central role in everyday, and everynight, urban experience. Furthermore, rather than just a tool, resource, opportunity or hindrance, infrastructure presents itself as constitutive of urban life (Pieteerse, 2008) and, by extension, the urban subjectivities which emerge from this. Once again, however, the night as a specific site of repair and maintenance is often overlooked as unproblematically a time of 'out-of-the-way' repair, which has little direct impact on the urban other than in hiding some of the dirtiest jobs which constitute a city (Herod and Aguiar, 2006).

Missing from the list of actants in the night-time city are two related groups: first, litter and other discarded materials; and second, street cleaners. Most local authorities in the UK employ a night-shift of street cleaners, who may also have some responsibility for gritting roads and other regular maintenance jobs around the city. As Murray Melbin suggests in his 1987 book '*Night as Frontier*':

> "the timetable [of the city] shows a tendency to gather rejuvenating tasks in the once-dormant phase. The new order of the day is to rely on the night-time to restore the community's

> well-being. Many of its projects represent a service connection between one day and the next, functions that overhaul and revive... a good-sized portion of the activity is cleaning, repairing, waste removal and maintenance" (Melbin, 1987:83-84).

Crudely, a parallel can be made between the need for humans to rest, restore and recuperate at night, and the need for the cities that we have created to do the same thing. In this chapter, however, I intend to show the ways in which this activity of cleaning at night is more than simply a task of overhaul and revival, and more than a 'connection' between days.

This chapter therefore contributes to the ongoing attempts to use an 'everyday' or practice-based approach to focus on the encounter between infrastructure and other processes in society, specifically at the moments of becoming in which a diverse range of objects is transformed into 'waste'. In doing so, it focuses on the range of actants and moments which have not traditionally been considered infrastructural, which nonetheless form part of the process of making infrastructure. This then populates our understanding of infrastructure with a diverse range of things – people, objects, animals, encounters, affects, laws, structures, emotions. A focus on this particular moment inevitably can form part of the picture: behind practice lies planning, legislation, structure and wider processes which are only seen in fleeting, distant translations on the street. Furthermore, the objects which become waste do not completely lose their heterogeneity once they become part of this mass category (Bennett, 2004): some objects are split off into new groups through recycling, others leech out of the category as pollutants, while others might be eaten by animals or simply blown away by wind. As such, this process of becoming is not a complete removal of agency or power from the objects which are becoming-waste; nevertheless, it is a significant moment in the formation of networks of infrastructure.

This chapter's argument is broken down into three parts. First, I will show how night-time street cleaning must take place in and alongside the late night alcohol and leisure industry – that which is typically labelled the 'night-time economy' in academia and policy - and that this results in a very visible form of infrastructural work, in contrast to the invisibility of much infrastructural work in the global north. Due to the incongruity of street-cleaners

amongst the 'playscape' of the urban night, they have a specific form of visibility that they must negotiate. Second, then, I want to explore the position of this night-time street cleaning within practices of regulation and management which produce the subjectivities of the urban night. In doing so I do not want to show that night-time street cleaning somehow determines or is singularly vital for the formation of subjectivities at night; rather, that it is one of many vectors of subjectification which are "relatively autonomous in relation to [each] other, and, if need be, in open conflict" but which nonetheless come together to establish subjectivity in individuals (Guattari, 2000:25). Third, I will then use a series of photographs taken by a research participant in a night-time street cleaning team in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a city in Northern England with a well developed 'night-time economy' (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001) to illustrate that the practices of repair and maintenance of infrastructure in the urban night form the first stages of the 'waste assemblage' (McFarlane, 2009). In doing so, I arrive at these moments of formation of the category of waste (Crang and Gregson, 2010), as discarded materials become litter and then begin to interact with the workers and objects of infrastructure (Bennett, 2004).

Infrastructural work in the urban night

Since the 'Manchester School' of cultural studies and urban planners first persuaded local authorities in their city to conduct an experiment into extended opening hours of city centre retail, recreational and cultural facilities (Comedia, 1991, Lovatt, 1993), there has been a significant field of research which has looked at the development of the night-time alcohol and leisure industry in British cities in particular, and to a lesser extent globally (Roberts and Eldridge, 2009, Jayne et al., 2011). This area of research was initially lead by urban planning and was concerned with the promotion of the urban night as a possible panacea for empty city centres, a tool for creating a leisure-based consumption economy (Vall, 2007), which would have the dual benefits of "doubling the city's economy" (Bianchini, 1995:124) whilst simultaneously making it more liveable, urbane and cosmopolitan (Landry and Bianchini, 1995).

As a programme for urban regeneration, developing a night-time economy sought to right the wrongs of 1980s urban developments, in which a business-led focus had resulted in single use districts developed in cities, consisting of office blocks without any other function,

shopping centres and malls that relied on the automobility of citizens to be connected to the rest of the city, and modern residential developments in which there were no communal or leisure spaces. Discourses of a 'cosmopolitan' or 'European lifestyle' (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993) were developed in which an idealised version of Mediterranean culture – with city centre living, wine consumption and cafes with outdoor seating – was contrasted with a beer-laden British culture, isolated in small and dingy pubs (Jayne et al., 2008). As Jayne et. al. suggest, such a distinction had little basis in reality, but it chimed with both policy makers and public so that the 'European-cafe culture' moved more centrally into the domain of policy. Tony Blair's Labour Party government, which came to power in 1997, incorporated licensing law relaxations into its aims and this became one of the central manifesto promises when it was re-elected in 2001 (Hadfield, 2006).

The leisure and alcohol based economy of urban night has thus become a key part of the reinvention of city centres as sites of consumption and entertainment (Vall, 2007, Jayne et al., 2011). In this context, Newcastle-upon-Tyne is emblematic of British cities. Following a decline in the traditional industries of coal mining, shipbuilding and other engineering, Newcastle has rediscovered its working-class drinking culture as one of its major resources in an era of inter-urban competiveness in which a strong urban brand is vital to success (Pike, 2011). As Vall suggests, "the local state [in Newcastle] has attempted to capitalise upon the city's vibrant consumer culture, or more particularly, the night-time economy, in pursuit of urban regeneration" (Vall, 2007:25). Thus the provision of leisure venues was central to the redevelopment of Newcastle's Quayside, whilst *The Gate*, an indoor leisure and entertainment complex with multiple bars and restaurants, was opened in 2004 in Newcastle and provided a new anchor for the city's nightlife. In 2007 the city council was able to proclaim that "our night time-economy is the envy of the rest of the country and a major tourist attractor" (Newcsatle City Newcastle City Council, 2007:119). In popular representations of the city, the heavy drinking and party culture is also prominent. From the regular awards or accolades that the nightlife is granted in travel media – such as the number one attraction in the UK title from the 2006 Rough Guide, or its regular appearance in 'best party city' lists – through to the media controversy surrounding the 2011 MTV television programme *Geordie Shore*, in which the city's residents were represented as heavy drinking hedonists, Newcastle is a city most commonly represented at night.

This active nightlife means that night-time cleaning cannot be simply a task of late-night renewal whilst the city sleeps. Yet this night-time cleaning has typically been conceived only in these terms. In Tomic et. al.'s research in Chilean shopping malls, the night is a relatively empty period in which the more visible and obtrusive aspects of cleaning can be hidden, in order to maintain the fiction of modernity (Tomic et al., 2006). For Rowbotham as well, it is in the invisibility of night cleaning which is problematic, in relation to the attempts of women night cleaners to unionise in the 1970s (Rowbotham, 2006). Undoubtedly, the night does provide a convenient time to hide the messy side of modernity so that governments can claim success in providing clean and efficient cities; from a less insidious perspective, night-time cleaning is simply a practical solution to the demands created by 'incessancy', that is, the need for activities cities to be timetabled across both day and night (Melbin, 1987). In such a context, and in industries which tend to rely heavily on immigrant or casual employment, the resultant invisibility of workers is a major issue, and is one of the ethical imperatives for academic engagement in such topics.

However, in the nightlife of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which I experienced during ethnographic research with the city's night-time 'neighbourhood services team', that is, the night-time street-cleaners, the role of cleaning presents itself very differently. Rather than an invisible practice cleaning up the mess of the day, it is instead an active practice of managing and controlling a spiralling flow of materials in a context of complex and constantly negotiated visuality. There are three aspects to this relationship which are of particular interest.

First, street-cleaners in these spaces are clearly very visible and present. Figure one shows people having to walk around the 'swingo' cleaning vehicle. This vehicle is used to clean pavements, and the site in the image is a public space which is located in front of The Gate, a large entertainment complex of bars, restaurants, clubs, a casino and a cinema. The high number of leaflets indicates the amount of cleaning which needs to take place in this busy location. During my ethnographic work with the street cleaners, I was able to take a half hour journey sat in the cab of a swingo. We received repeated attention from people in the street: slapping the cabin windows; jumping in front of the vehicle; jumping away from the vehicle; dropping litter in front of the vehicle for collection; asking for lifts up the road; and refusing to move from the pavement. During their shifts, then, the drivers must constantly negotiate the difficulties created by the very obvious visibility of their sweeping vehicles.

Figure 1

Similarly, the workers who sweep the streets with brooms are presented with a different range of challenges in the urban night. As figure two suggests, cleaners need constantly to negotiate their visibility. Unlike most actants on the night-time street, their presence is not necessarily expected: they are not 'revellers' or drinkers in the urban night, and nor are they one of the limited range of regularly represented professions that are associated with the urban night– bouncers, taxi drivers, dancers, leafleteers and fast food sellers . Furthermore, the nature of their work means that they are obliged to move in and around the drinking crowd. Of course, as Jayne et. al. note, drinkers form a heterogeneous group, with "diverse practices and experiences" (Jayne et al., 2011:21), and so there is not a singular route to avoiding interaction – and nor need there be, as the majority of drinkers do not cause trouble for the street cleaners.

Figure 2

Nevertheless, whilst wandering through the crowds, the mantra of these workers is “don’t make eye contact”. They walk in a very submissive stance, with their face on the task-in-hand, that is, the floor. The cleaners are able to remove litter from the middle of a drunken, chatting group, ducking between bodies which provide them almost no attention. At times, however, their brooms do contact people’s feet, or their eyes do meet those around them. When they are engaged in conversation, they do so in a manner which is extremely polite, friendly, and happy. Here, the unofficial practice of putting only men on the night-shift, and generally those over 35, allows the workers to position themselves in a certain way. Younger workers would be more likely to meet friends, or be seen as potentially targets for violence. Women, meanwhile, continue to receive regular unwanted sexual attention in the urban night (Leyshon, 2008, Holloway et al., 2009) and so managers perceive that they would be more at risk of assault in this environment. Brought together, all this means that the workers draw from a series of learnt behaviours, to manage very carefully the interactions

with drunken people who, whilst unlikely to be violent, can be unpredictable in their actions.

These two images also show the amount of waste which is created in the process of the urban night. In figure one there is about forty minutes worth of waste accumulation, whilst figure two shows the amount collected in about ten minutes worth of sweeping done by one worker at one site. A variety of materials, then - flyers, bottles, food packets and more – begin to become waste during the urban night, as will be discussed later in the chapter. This waste would simply build up if left uncleaned, dramatically changing the image of Newcastle at night. Thus, this cleaning cannot be solely conceptualised as simply a process of clearing up after the day, of repairing the city as it sleeps (Melbin, 1987). Rather, it is a practice of active management, of identifying the busiest sites and the build up of litter. Learnt behaviours allow the staff to operate within this time and space, negotiating their visibility. It is undoubtedly true that the night-time cleaners remain invisible to many including, perhaps crucially, senior members of the city council's executive body and other parts of the local authority, yet during the night itself they must constantly work to create invisibility. Whilst more diverse than a group with a single purpose (Roberts, 2006), the users of the night-time city are not as heterogeneous as the day and so those actants which are not directly involved in the drinking and leisure economy can and do stand out. The unyielding materiality of the swingo machine or the embeddedness of the workers with brooms means that the cleaners must constantly negate their rupturing visuality. Yet the sheer amount of litter generated in the night-time economy means that their job and presence is inherently necessary: they are not maintenance workers on a sleeping city, but a response team managing an ever increasing flow of materials. In studying the 'night-time economy', we must also remember then that it is the "people who clean the floors, distribute tickets, cook the food, wash the glasses and make the coffee" (Brabazon and Mallinder, 2007:168) who allow this assemblage to function.

Emergent subjectivities and the role of street-cleaning

If the initial academic research into the alcohol and leisure industry at night was lead by cultural studies and urban planners, this had changed by the time that the Licensing Act was passed in 2003, permitting licensed premises to apply for unlimited opening times and

removing the power of judges to appeal against the granting of licenses on the grounds of over saturation (Hadfield, 2006). A series of critical studies from urban geography, sociology and criminology in particular began to show the problems that were associated with this liberalisation of legislation associated with the urban night. Broadly, they critiqued what Chatterton and Hollands described as the conversion of city centres into neoliberal playscapes (Chatterton and Hollands, 2001, Chatterton and Hollands, 2002). As the ability to prevent licenses being granted was slowly eroded, city centres became filled with chain bars run by 'pubcos', that is, large multi-bar companies. These bars were often themed in a variety of ways, simultaneously expanding and fragmenting the market (Hadfield et al., 2001). Such increased competition resulted in discounting of alcohol prices and a myriad of '2 for 1' offers on drinks. Academics argued that such practices resulted in the increased consumption of alcohol, whilst simultaneously legislation prevented authorities from restricting the activities of those producers who have encouraged this increased consumption. Law enforcers, unable to restrict the activity of producers, instead turned to "those most thoroughly seduced of consumers, to the tune of a dozen lagers, who are most inclined to be targeted by swarming police units, teams of bouncers and couplets of street wardens" (Hobbs et al., 2003:273). Having lost their ability to act to prevent excessive sale of cheap alcohol in the urban night, the only way to enforce behavioural norms was through legislative responses which controlled consumers.

In addition to this punitative control from authorities, Hadfield's research in bars revealed a world in which a variety of techniques had been learnt by various actants to control and manage behaviour in the urban night. As he suggested, "the ability to exert control over the behaviour of one's customers is essential to the successful operation of licensed premises" (Hadfield, 2006:81). Management, bouncers and disc jockeys all attempt to manipulate the mood of their premises, in order to create the right environment. Leyshon extends this official control from practices to the infrastructural, as "the shape, objects and textures of pubs contour movement and regulate performances" (Leyshon, 2008:282). In fact, what is key in controlling the mood of a bar is the relationship between practices and infrastructural or institutional features. Such a claim is not necessarily new. In his 1946 essay 'The Moon Under Water' about his ideal (fictional) public house, George Orwell recognises that: "if you are asked why you favour a particular public-house, it would seem natural to put the beer

first, but the thing that most appeals to me about the Moon Under Water is what people call its 'atmosphere'" (Orwell, 1946). He goes on to list a variety of features that contribute to this atmosphere, including the noise levels and style of music, the architecture, the furnishings (which should have "the solid, comfortable ugliness of the 19th century"), the food and beer sold, regulatory practises such as whether children are allowed in the bar, and its geographical position in relation to bus stops and pedestrian thoroughfares. Indeed, Orwell's essay has been stated as an inspiration for the JD Wetherspoon's chain of pubs, which have become one of the most successful 'chameleon bars' in the UK. Chameleon bars are premises which manipulate their layout, menu, music, prices, regulations and lighting over the course of a day so that they can act as cafes during the daytime, restaurants in the evening, and pubs, bars or clubs at night (Kubacki et al., 2007). In doing so, they epitomise a form of experience capitalism in which manipulation of subjectivities to encourage consumption is central.

With all this in mind, Jayne et. al. note that many researchers have concluded that in the urban night there are "a number of contradictory tendencies towards both deregulation and (re) regulation, and the twin imperatives of fun and disorder" (Jayne et al., 2011:19). Certainly, there would seem to be a tension between, on the one hand, governmental practices which attempt to cut down on alcohol consumption in order to prevent 'anti-social behaviour', and other legislative changes and practices which encourage increased consumption behaviour. However, I argue that these trends are not inherently contradictory or, rather, that if they appear to have contradictory tendencies then this contradiction should be seen neither as some sort of hypocrisy nor as particularly unexpected. Rather, as I will show through my discussion of street-cleaning at night, such practices of manipulation of 'mood' can be better understood as part of the machinic assemblages of the production of subjectivity.

Subjectivity is taken here to mean the behaviour, experiences and identity of an individual-as-assemblage. It is an assemblage which recognises itself and other selves as actants and attributes agency to both itself and other selves (Bateson, 1973:315). The 'subject' of the subjectivity is "immanent to the larger system – man [sic] plus environment" (Bateson, 1973: 317), as it emerges as a process from the world. Guattari adapts Bateson's thinking into a more post-structuralist account of subjectivity by recognising it not as a closed

system, but as the result of “a multitude of *machinic* systems” (Guattari, 1996b:95 emphasis added) which interact with one another. These machinic systems or practices are autonomous and often conflictual (Guattari, 2000), but nonetheless do come together to produce subjectivities. In other words, subjectivity is the subject-as-process, a constantly manipulated and created assemblage. In the urban night, as at all times, subjectivity is emerging from the changing experience and behaviour of the self. Re-reading Hadfield and Orwell’s accounts above, then, the manipulation of mood or the sensation of atmosphere can be understood as a recognition of the sensation of this emergence, in which practices, infrastructures and institutions come together to produce subjectivities.

A recognition in this is found in the work of Felix Guattari, who suggests tha: “the span of developed/constructed spaces extends quite beyond their visible and functional structures. They are essentially machines, machines of meaning, of sensation, abstract machines... that can standardize individual and collective subjectivity” (Guattari, 1993:143-144). Indeed, a growing subsection of the literature on infrastructures and urbanism has focused on the constitutive role of infrastructure in subjectivities. Such work has emerged from a concern with “the ways in which the construction of difference through processes of segregation and exclusion has both spatial and discursive dimensions” (Kooy and Bakker, 2008:377) and in particular the material aspects of this. Kooy and Baker’s research into Jakarta reveals, for example, the ways in which access to certain forms of infrastructure shapes and is shaped by discourses of which subjects should and should not have access to ‘modernity’. Infrastructures thus jointly represent access to, but dependency on, networks of various forms. As Graham and Thrift suggest, attention to the continual work required to repair and maintain these connections can help reveal the dependent nature of urban subjectivities on infrastructures, particularly in the global north (Graham and Thrift, 2007). Such dependency is further revealed, according to Coward, by the targeting of critical urban infrastructure in contemporary war and terrorism. Rather than traditional urban warfare, which has sought to decimate and destabilise population or destroy key infrastructural nodes, urban warfare now seeks to “disrupt urbanity through the destruction of that substrate which is central to contemporary cities: critical infrastructure” (Coward, 2009:402).

In the context of these approaches, a study of street-cleaning at night can further add to our understanding of the relationship between urban infrastructure and subjectivity. Street-

cleaning at night plays a big role in bracketing off the city centre at night as a time of difference or exception, by controlling the excess of material flows which are created. As Szmigin et al suggest, the urban night creates a place for "planned letting go which balances out the constrained behaviour they are subject to in the formal structures of everyday life in school, work and family" (Szmigin et al., 2008:363). This time-space has been labelled as the night-time high street or urban playscape (Chatterton and Hollands, 2002), in which a limited amount of hedonism and release is encouraged, in order to ensure that desire for experimentation of subjectivity is met, without threatening the cohesion of the self. One of the techniques of release which is used in the urban night is the relatively reckless attitude towards the built environment, the classic example of which might be the student prank of stealing traffic cones. Street-cleaners tidy up after this recklessness, doing minor repairs to street furniture which is damaged at night, or at least securing it or tidying up the mess created. As experimentation with subjectivity in the urban night is centred around bodily consumption of various products – principally alcohol – waste is also created by this process, as shown in the next section. This excess amount of waste materialises the affective excesses of the urban night, and by cleaning this up the street-cleaners absorb this excess. Crucially, the necessary act of cleaning up after this mess results in a city centre which is clean and undamaged the following day, largely removing the evidence of the previous night.

In practice, the day city and the night city are not separate discrete periods in which normal, responsible citizens become abnormal, irresponsible drinkers. Rather, the British cities at night contain processes of an intensification of flows of materials through and around bodies: flows such as music, alcohol, images, food and sounds. In other words, the urban night is a space in which excess emerges; night-time street cleaning, and other forms of monitoring and control which attempt to constrain this intensification of corporeal flows, absorb this excess. This allows for the creation of hedonistic subjectivities without threatening the 'normal' being of the day. By looking at the work which is done to maintain this appearance of separation between night and day, we can further explore the relationship between the night-time city and wider urban processes.

Becoming-Waste

In the previous two sections of this chapter, I have been concerned with the relationship between infrastructural work – night-time street cleaning – and the night-time alcohol and leisure industry. In this section, I look at the relationship between this work and the wider infrastructures into which it feeds. As Crang and Gregson suggest, research into waste has tended to focus on waste management, that is, on the movement and treatment of waste as part of wider techno-scientific or policy-oriented studies into the management of resources. A result of this is that waste has been remarkably fixed as a concept within academia, a feature of modernity which "just is: [waste] is the stuff that is being governed, or that which is the outcome of policy" (Crang and Gregson, 2010:1027). Whilst this focus is understandable, it means that there have been few attempts to rethink or trouble the category of waste. A deeper exploration into the ontologies of waste, whether through studies of its moments of formation, termination, disruption or spillage, can show the work of assemblage which goes into the creation of 'waste' and, in doing so, indicates the dynamism and contingency of the waste-category. With the management and control of waste contested on a variety of ecological, economic, legal and social grounds, explorations into the practice of waste creation can help to show the potential for doing waste differently and, if so, then creating less waste.

Recent studies into waste which have attempted to engage with this problem have typically taken on two approaches. The first has been to show the materiality or agency of the objects which are typically bundled into the category of waste (Bennett, 2004, Hawkins, 2011), revealing the ways first in which they remain separate objects and second in which they can act or disrupt waste management processes. As Edensor suggests, such studies can also reveal an aesthetics of the world, in which pollution and spillage are written out in favour of narratives of clean, waste management (Edensor, 2005). A second set of responses, to which this paper is more allied located, seeks to engage with the moments at which waste is present in unexpected sites or ways, often at its moments of formation or change. In these studies, there has been a recognition of the power of imagery of waste and litter (Crang, 2010). Crang, following Deleuze, conceives of images of waste-creation as showing a 'time-image', that is, a moment at which a transition between different times takes place: a "moment of recognition of linkages, and of disturbance, where disjunctural

states are shown to connect" (Crang, 2010:1085). His study of images of ships being dismantled shows that the power of these images is in the presence of these disjunctural states. The ship, an object of mobility, globalisation and transportation, is shown as becoming-waste, being dismantled in dangerous ways.

Within this chapter, I use participant photographs, of which two have already appeared, to show similar moments of the formation of the waste assemblage. These photographs were taken by a member of Newcastle's neighbourhood services team in the course of his work. As such, they focus on the labour and tools which are added to deposited materials to create waste. The assemblage of cleaners, nightlife, alcohol, bodily fluids, leaflets, brooms, bins, pavements, water, etc., can be understood as a 'waste-machine'. Here, machine is being used in the sense developed by Guattari and explored also in his collaborative work with Deleuze, in which what is important is the machine's "singular power of enunciation: what [Guattari] calls its specific enunciative consistency" (Guattari, 1995:33). The enunciative consistency of a machine is its power to enunciate, that is, to produce both new

Figure 3

Figure 4

meaning and form. In the caste of the waste-machine, the enunciative power comes from the ability of the various components to together produce 'waste'. Before waste can begin, then, materials are first deposited onto the city streets.

Perhaps the most commonly discarded materials in the city at night are advertising leaflets and fast-food packaging, as seen in figures three and four. Night shift workers estimate that there are over fifty thousand flyers distributed on a typical night in Newcastle, and that this figure may be over one hundred thousand at certain times. Though in theory regulated through a licensing system, there is little interest from police in monitoring this distribution, due to the range of pressures made on policing in the urban night. Shift managers of the neighbourhood services team occasionally approach and challenge unlicensed leafleteers, but this does little to reduce the overall flow of materials. Fast food consumption at night is high, which is linked both to its convenience, and also the high levels of fat and sugar which help keep the body warm. This warmth is important where people who are dressed to be inside warm, sweaty clubs move around city streets. Furthermore, as nights-out can often

be long processes which involve movement from pubs, to bars, to clubs (Hollands, 1995), individuals can often be very hungry by the time that 2am comes around. As such large quantities of fast food packaging are used up during the night, and these can build up as waste around fast food shops and vans, as in figure four. In particular, this sort of waste also builds up in large public spaces which can form a significant period of the night out as people queue, smoke, or simply hang around in the night-time city.

But the litter on the city streets at night does not just consist of discarded materials. Night-time streets are, we are told, "splattered with blood, vomit, urine and the sodden remains of take-aways" (Hadfield et al., 2001:300) and indeed there are a range of bodily fluids which are regularly deposited onto the streets of Newcastle. Certain alleyways and corners become public urinals, though pissing also occurs in more public locations as well: figure five shows urine stains beside one of the exits to *The Gate* entertainment complex. Indeed, *The Gate* has suffered at the hands of the activity of urine, as seen in figure six. Here, the acid of repeated urination is beginning to corrode the brickwork of a building which opened in 2004. This reveals an agency of urine in the city centre and indicates that the issue of public urination goes beyond one of bodily norms or anxieties over public behaviour (Eldridge, 2010). These images are also from relatively public places, showing that urination is not just a back alley activity, but a central part of the waste that is created in the night-time city.

Figure 5

Figure 6

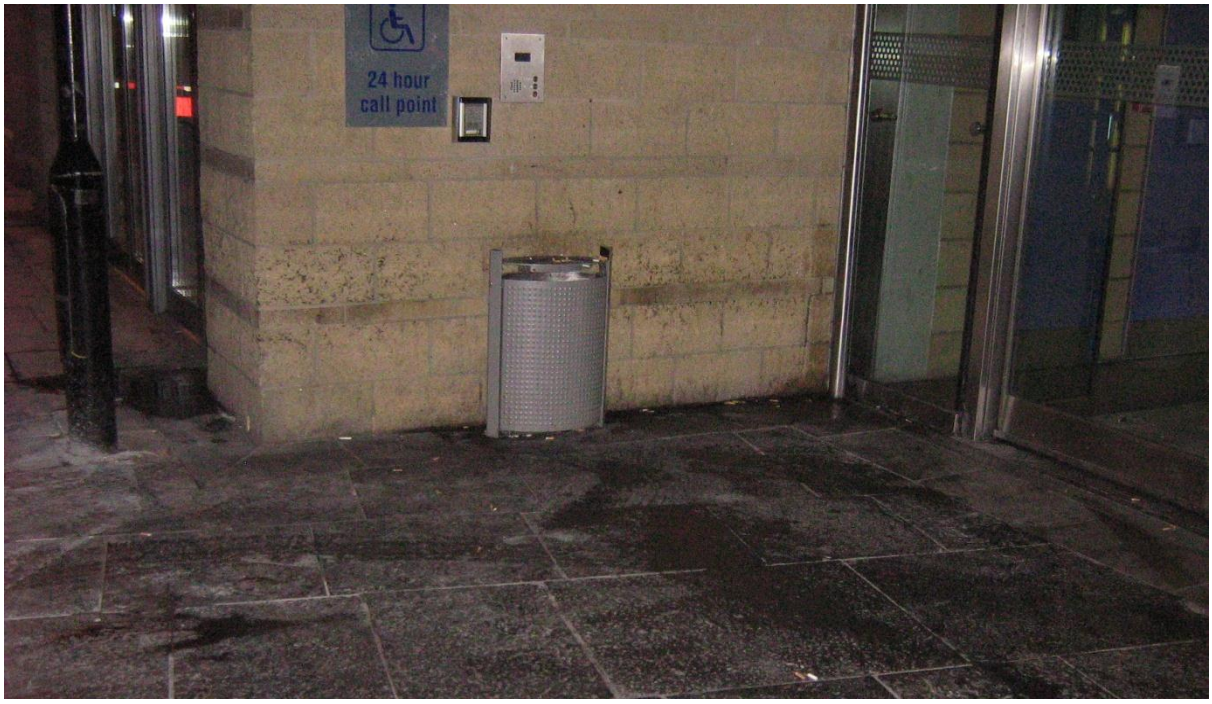

Figure 7

As well as bodily waste and litter, other materials appear on the streets at night. Smashed glass and other alcohol containers are (perhaps surprisingly) rare, as drinking in public is prohibited under bylaws and is quickly stopped by police or bouncers. The grease from fast food restaurants, on the other hand, spreads out over the city streets, creating paths that are slippy and dangerous. In figure 8, the shining grease outside of a McDonald's is a potential safety hazard if not cleaned quickly, whilst in figure 9 grease has come into contact with other materials, such as leaflets, holding them and sticking them to the ground: these are only removable with a power wash. Different materials thus continue to have some agency, interacting on the ground so that they become more difficult to remove. Weather conditions will also affect this: in rain, heat, and cold, the chemicals of the various materials will respond differently, requiring new tools and techniques on behalf of the cleaners.

Figure 8

Figure 9

From materials in heterogeneous forms, these objects become litter on the streets. As litter, two sets of practices and objects are then added to create waste. First, there is the manual labour and learned behaviours which were previously discussed in this paper. This labour, however, is intimately tied to the second set of objects required to create waste, and that is the infrastructure and tools of cleaning. In the interaction with this infrastructure, the material changes from individual cigarette butts, fast food packaging, leaflets, vomit, etc, to become the mass of 'waste'. As such, the process of becoming waste is not simply a linguistic division in which objects are renamed, but rather a qualitative change in the being of the material. This process of becoming is part of the wider waste-management assemblage. Waste management thus begins with gathering. These photos draw attention to, as McFarlane puts it, "the labour of assembling and re-assembling sociomaterial practices that are diffuse, tangled and contingent" (McFarlane, 2009). As an assemblage is a dynamic object, however, it is always being changed and altered: parts can be literally plucked out of it at any time.

Figure 10

Figure 10 thus shows one of the many sea-birds which come to the streets after the closure of clubs and till the early morning, removing some of the material from the streets before it can become part of the waste management system. Most of the waste, however, comes into contact with the tools of litter removal. The most obvious of these tools is the bin, though as figure ten indicates the work that these can do is limited. In figure eleven, the litter in the bin is being pulled into the waste assemblage. Materials on the street are swept together using the brooms, becoming a mass. These are then siphoned into kerbs, so that sweeping vehicles can easily collect them off the floor. This is an ongoing process through the night, in which a constant stream of materials are input into the waste assemblage through the combined actions of those depositing the materials on the streets, the cleaners who collect it together, and sweeping machines which gather it off the floor. As such the materials, workers and tools form a single waste-production-machinic-assemblage.

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

This process of becoming waste, however, is often disrupted. One example of this comes from the recent ban on smoking in licensed premises in the UK. Many bars and pubs have opened 'smoking areas' outside, often separated from the pavement using temporary metal fencing. This fencing encroaches onto the pavement and makes the job of negotiating this space with sweeping vehicles particularly difficult. The presence of more smokers outside of pubs and bars depositing cigarette butts has also increased the work of street cleaners, who now have to make more effort to move in and out of doorways and alcoves.

So in figure thirteen we see a summary of many of the arguments made in this chapter. A street-sweeping vehicle is moving towards one of the public squares in Newcastle, which is quickly filling with litter. Its presence fills the narrow pavement, thanks in part to the smoking area at the adjacent bar, which is already taking up half of the available space. In this area, more litter is being created in the form of disposed cigarettes. To the right, ongoing roadworks compound these problems with no space for people to move round the vehicle. Legislative, corporeal, infrastructural and affective practices thus feed in together to

create this image of a moment in which the necessity but difficulty of night-time cleaning is revealed. This picture shows some of the wide range of actants, both human and non-human, which can contribute to the urban night streetscape and which go beyond the limited range of binge drinkers, dancers, police and bouncers that are often studied in social science.

Conclusion

This chapter does not seek to argue that the night-time city is as diverse a time and space as the day-time city. Certainly, at night, a number of rhythms come to rest or to a stand-still; recuperation and repair take place with little activity ongoing. The absence of many actants creates a somewhat contradictory trend in which the night is both a space for those who wish to express difference or explore subjectivity to act (Melbin, 1987, Malbon, 1999), but also a generally less diverse population, in which there is a greater danger of violence towards those who stand out as different (Valentine, 1989, Whtizman, 2007). Nevertheless, the visible 'hoards' of night-time drinkers quickly become less homogenous when explored in greater depth (Jayne et al., 2011). The existence of these subjectivities are dependent upon a much wider range of diverse actants and practices, which are necessary to support the NTE but which are not immediately imagined as part of the night's streetscape. Contradictory and 'hypocritical' elements of these assemblages are to be expected, as forces act in antagonistic ways to create complex and dynamic subjectivities. By understanding better the range of different contributors to the machinic-assemblage of the urban night, we might better also understand the subjectivities which are produced from this assemblage.

In this chapter, we have followed the process of the formation of litter, and then waste. After this, the waste is transported off to a site in Heaton, where it enters the process of waste management, as a formal part of infrastructure networks. This process, as we have seen, is different at night compared to the day, with the specific actants of the night-time economy creating their own problems, such as violence and on-street urination, but also opportunities, such as their absence from shopping streets. Perhaps, then, we might place greater focus on these different rhythms of infrastructure in the city. Night plays a variety of different roles in infrastructure: it can be a time for running low priority but complex tasks,

such as particular computer programmes, or rail network maintenance; it can be an opportunity for poorer actants to access networks, such as cheaper public transport journeys or electricity; and in other forms of infrastructure, such as hotels and accommodation, it can be the times of busiest activity. A focus on the everyday reveals these patterns, and the politics of infrastructural use, access and visibility which accompany them.

For the night-shift workers of Newcastle's neighbourhood services team, this street cleaning does not exhaust their work. Amongst other things, they must respond to road traffic accidents, clean graffiti, clear street flooding and, in winter months, grit city pavements and roads. These images do, however, show one of their main roles and show that they are both embedded within the NTE and necessary to its operation. Whilst supporting the NTE, the street-cleaners are also necessary to the process of waste management. To put it simply, for the management and control of waste materials, objects must first be deposited and collected together. The images of the third section of this chapter show, first, materials as they become litter, in a position of disjuncture: lying on the floor, mixing with each other or overflowing bins, these materials are all out of their proper place. As such, these images can be understood as time-images (Crang 2010), that is, images which freeze moments of becoming and between-states. Second, then, these images show the work that goes in to removing these out of place materials and turning them into the category of 'waste'. By coming into contact with the cleaners, and their various machines, these materials are treated in ways that turn them into waste: processes of sweeping, blasting with water, or sucking of the street by machines, all add to the materials to make them waste. As such, waste in an assemblage both in the sense of something which has been arranged, or assembled (McFarlane, 2009), and also in the sense of something which consists of a heterogeneity of components, including embodied practices of work, machines, weather, materials, and more (Guattari, 1996a:154).

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